2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[35] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[36]

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[37]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[38] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[39] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[40] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[41] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[42] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[36] Speck, 1950, pp. 70-72.
[37] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.
[39] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.
[41] Trowbridge MS.
[42] Harrington, 1913, p. 228.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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fighting will take place, and drops the heads on the spot, and the noise of their fall is a roar like thunder. 776 821

EVIL MANĬ'TOWŬK

Both the Great Horned Serpents, monsters living in the rivers and lakes, and the Giant Bear were considered evil *manĭ'towŭk*, the only good derived from them being, in the first case, charms made of the scales, bone, or horn of the monsters, supposed to bring rain; and, in the second case, a medicine made from the tooth said to have the power of healing wounds. Children were accustomed to hunt in the sand for tracks of the Little People, comparable with fairies or elves among the whites. 776

ANIMAL SPIRITS

The concepts regarding the numerous animal spirits who were believed to offer themselves as guardians for mankind, are rather hard to define. Most Indians seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any 774 776

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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774 776 particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species, at the same time having human and *manI'to* attributes.

776 778 Brainerd[83] makes some interesting remarks on this subject, which are worth quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own. [774]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the ● [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[2] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[3] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tööksect* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tööksaa* round & *oozēēt* foot) the *Tshēēkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāāooh*, and the *Tōōlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[2] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[3] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society* . . . (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and bad souls in the proper courses—the good go to Heaven— 775
the bad are conducted by this armed stranger to Hell, where are prepared kettles of boiling water for their special accommodation. They believe in a day of judgment—that "the world will be at an end, when the whites get into full possession of it,"—that the souls only, after death will be accountable, and punished or rewarded. There are no particular days set apart for worship and no other religious ceremonies, but such as appertain to their festivals, war dance, etc. The soul immediately after death, is supposed to leave the body and absent itself, "traveling backwards and forwards" and occasionally visiting the body until the Great day.

J. W.—Soul stays with body of deceased in ground and decays with it. Resurrected at the final calling of everybody by the Creator. Spirit immediately leaves body and goes to all the places it has been during life and all bad actions are punished on the spot. The spirits of the good go almost directly to the Creator. All are ready to go by the 11th day, or 12th at noon, at which time to help them go, relatives give spirit a feast (in the Wolf division only). Six months or a year afterwards a relative or friend may feel the presence of a spirit and give a feast to remove the effects of spirit. Usually a year after death and then every year thereafter. A friend is called to the feast and given the food which he takes out and eats.

W. T. gave the name of ghost to the soul of J. W. and said [774]
it stayed on earth while the spirit went "home" to heaven.

W. L. did not distinguish between soul and spirit. Said spirit goes eleven places before going to land of Great Spirit. These eleven places were "like Jacob's ladder."

38. Ghosts

John Johnston—They do [believe in ghosts] very much and 774
say that they have often seen them. 775

Captain Pipe—They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave; and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 763] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mosing'hali·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tomi·'ke'tⁱ, the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənape·ɔ'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok·an appears in combinations leχ'le·'χe'yɔ'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le'xe'yan, "my breathing"), wihila'ɔk·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tei·'teaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tei·'teaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ('huk') remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'nsowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atea'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tea'teung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschiltschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to [775] God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke'tan'to'wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice'lɔmu'kaɔŋg, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man·i't·u of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi'tao'pan·e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is nocomgon·a "Our Grandmother."